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ABSTRACT

The emerging "Managerial Estate," based as it is on knowledge, services, science, and technology, with built-in theories of expendability for people considered obsolete, will increasingly force Afro-Americans and historically-black institutions of higher learning to emphasize self-reliance and self determination. Moreover, urban public schools cannot be left as underdeveloped institutions for the rapidly growing black underclass, which is becoming increasingly powerless and angry. In the midst of the clash of cultures between the declining welfare state and the emerging Managerial Estate, black institutions of higher education must contribute new, innovative, and progressive ideas. Several critical areas demand attention: (1) the need for multidisciplinary studies; (2) the significance and necessity of international studies; (3) a systematic examination of Western civilization and Judaeo-Christian culture; (4) the need to emphasize research and instruction in science and technology, as well as the social functions of science and technology, to develop scientists capable of making ethical decisions; (5) the need to become future-oriented; (6) the need to develop new leadership from within the black community; and (7) the need for increased interaction between black institutions and the black community. (CMG)

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The American Welfare State and Future Challenges to Black Education in the Age of Science and Technology

by
Floyd W. Hayes, III

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The American Welfare State and Future Challenges to Black Education in the Age of Science and Technology

By Floyd W. Hayes, III, Research Fellow

. . . It would be ironic if an act designed to improve Blacks' position was used to prevent efforts at such improvement.

Kenneth S. Tollett (1981)

Floyd W. Hayes, III, ISEP Research Fellow, feels that the curriculum of Black colleges and universities must be designed to meet the demands of a society characterized by science and technology.

Introduction

A most critical issue in the evolution of American society is the development of a new social order. This development is concomitant with the advancing age of science and technology, but characterized by the decline of the welfare state and the rise of the Managerial Estate. Significantly, scholars and social analysts with vastly different perspectives, from "left to right," are making it abundantly clear that the views and values which gave rise to the welfare state, as an alternative to monopoly capitalism or at least as an attempt at advanced reform, are no longer nationally supported as necessary measures in the fulfillment of democracy. Substantive agreed upon compromises supportive of welfare state reforms and expressive of a concern for complete equality of citizenship are meeting with increasing resistance. Coupled with recurrent and widespread economic distress, "fair shares for all" is giving way progressively to "pay for all services" as a guiding political principle.

This essay purports to treat one of the most glaring examples of the aforegoing, namely the interrelationship between the policy of racial integration of urban public schools, which deliver educational services to large numbers of Afro-Americans, and of historically Black colleges and universities all within the context of the declining American welfare state and the emerging Managerial Estate in the developing age of science and technology. Future challenges to historically Black institutions of higher learning and Afro-American education are discussed along with suggestions for alternative directions in curriculum development.

Welfarism to Managerialism

The welfare state is characterized by government-protected minimum standards of income, nutrition, health, housing, and education guaranteed to all citizens as a political right, or entitlement, not as charity. The growth of the modern welfare state, which emerged during the early state building attempts of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Europe culminating in the later consolidation of the absolutist state, may be interpreted as a response to the triumph of early democracy following the French Revolution and the growth of free enterprise—a combination which dominated production and dictated the political structure the Industrial Revolution advanced. The introduction of the welfare state, then, represented an acknowledgment of popular needs and an attempt to deal with recurrent economic difficulties associated with industrial economic development by integrating working people without challenging the existing institutions and the distribution of wealth (Flora and Heidenheimer 1981, Rimlinger 1971).

The emergence of the welfare state in the United States can be dated from the Depression and the coming to power of President Roosevelt and the Democrats. It was reinforced and expanded in the post-World War Two period, when the benefits of both social insurance and social services were broadened to include increasing numbers of the middle classes. This was effected by universalizing income transfer programs and public services or in gradual fashion by adding and aiding class beneficiaries in support of a new and popular bureaucracy. These same programs became so acceptable and progressively institutionalized that the decade of the 1950s witnessed a movement toward popular workers' government and civil rights for all. All of these developments were the result of continued economic growth and technological progress.

The demand for civil rights that can be formally dated from the 1954 *Brown* U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decision and Martin L. King's leadership of the Civil Rights Movement for full integration, was followed by an alternative, the Black Power Movement. Both movements were claiming to articulate the hopes and aspirations of Afro-Americans and the poor. Significantly, the welfare state offered civil rights to the exclusion of human rights for Afro-Americans. President Johnson's Great Society was characterized by such policies as public assistance, income maintenance for the aged, blind, disabled, and fatherless among the poor, medical assistance for the poor, public housing, rent subsidies, etc. The evolution of the Great Society resulted in additional programs to assist

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Afro-Americans in gaining entry to areas which formerly excluded them. By means of affirmative action and special entry programs, "representative" Afro-Americans entered increasingly into the mainstream of American life—or so it appeared.

The fall of European colonialism, the emergence of Third World nations, the United States defeat in Vietnam, and the evolving struggle for a new international economic order quietly dictating new trading relations at the United Nations within the last five years, the growing demands for human rights from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, from the Falkland Islands to Harlem or Washington, D.C., have signalled a deepening challenge of the welfare state to corporate society, its reform measures and alternatives. Progressively developing in the United States—and other advanced nations—and silently crushing the peoples' dreams and aspirations is the evolving and recurrent struggle for power between the old corporate structure and the rising Managerial Estate. The net effect of this is squeezing the welfare state out of existence.

As the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings unveiled in 1968, American society is presently undergoing transition to the Managerial Estate (U.S. Senate 1968). A social transition beyond the Industrial State, which was characterized by the veneration of capital and manufacturing, the Managerial Estate is distinguished by the political control and partisan use of specialized knowledge, information, technical expertise and social engineering. However the managerial system is inheriting from the older order a communications network and expertise fully in tact (e.g., cable TV). Many social analysts are taking note of the developing Managerial Estate, explaining that it represents the rise of the service economy, the formation of new politicized organizations, the increasing bureaucratization of large institutions, the ascendancy of "think tanks" as new structures in the policymaking process, the emergence of a professional-managerial class composed of political managers and policy activists located in and out of governmental bureaucracies at the federal, state and local levels, and the increasing development of a new intellectual technology for the rationalization of policymaking (Bell 1973, Galbraith 1971; Gouldner 1979).

There are indications that managerial political development is increasingly tension-filled and characterized by the possibility of political instability. This is represented by increased modernization and social change, rising demands for new types of political participation, the emergence of political consultants, a high level of political conflict related to the growing complexity and interdependence of all activities and social relations in the policymaking process, a decline in the legitimacy of existing political institutions, significantly coupled with increased public resistance to the intellectual hegemony of professional experts as a result of growing failure of public policies to solve complex social problems (Heclo 1978; Huntington 1974; LaPorte and Abrams 1976; Sabato 1981).

Public School Politics: Integration or Education

Perhaps the most significant development in the emerging Managerial Estate, advanced by science and technology, is the central importance of education: the progressive development of skills, the heightening of intellectual motivation and national character development—all for a new social order. Significantly, in the 1960s, both the nation and the Black community became progressively polarized over the issues of integration, education and economic advancement. Specifically, in public school politics* the contradictions were glaring as *the mission of education became increasingly misunderstood and distorted.*

As integration proceeded and became the primary goal to be achieved at all costs (overlooking the original intent of integration as a *means* to an end), good classroom instruction receded. As the polarizing scramble for "busing and balancing" expanded, (a seemingly contrived issue to cover up the denial of literacy to Afro-American children), quality education, academic motivation and character building were relinquished. In many American cities, Afro-American common people struggled against both Black and white integrationist, social managers or educational "experts" who sought to perform various educational "experiments" on urban public schools and their students as the liberal alternative to traditional prerequisites for basic preparation. For example, over twenty years ago, a major grassroots effort arose to salvage public school tradition and promote the educational development of the Washington, D.C. Afro-American youth, continuing education in the process of integration rather than discarding what was of worth. It was coordinated by the League for Universal Justice and Goodwill, an umbrella group composed primarily of concerned Black Baptist, Methodist, ministers and Fundamentalist and parents under the leadership of the late Rev. Walter Gray.

The League's major objective was education for Afro-American youth, the distribution and mastery of the fundamental tools of knowledge such as reading, writing and computational skills, academic motivation and character building. The League fought to turn back cultural domination and the tracking system and the "programmed retardation" of the District's Black youth in the form of IQ testing on what had not been taught. Forced integration was not an absolute priority; the salvation of Black educational development was.

The League for Universal Justice and Goodwill petitioned committees of both the Senate and House of Representatives for redress against the above well-established grievances against the Washington, D.C. public schools. From October 1965 to January 1966, the League tes-

*It is observed that in the earlier reform era, education was considered non-political. With the emergence of the Managerial Estate, schooling and other formerly non-political issues and social relations are becoming progressively politicized.

tified before a task force of the House Committee on Education and Labor, then under the chairmanship of the late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. But the hopes and aspirations of the District's Afro-American common people were crushed as the proposals advanced by the League for improving the schools were ignored and, indeed, undermined by educational "experts." The policy of "busing and balancing" among several experimental non-academic schemes was instituted, and the adverse consequences for public school education in Washington, D.C. are observable to this day (U.S. House of Representatives 1966; Washington 1969). The population shifted from urban to suburban localities in response to the crisis of urban public school politics and the failure to develop educational alternatives for the District's youth. Suburban school systems were soon a party to growing social conflict in relation to educational policymaking. This conflict was similar to the problems they inherited from the Washington, D.C. crisis regarding unresolved urban public school failure. By the end of the 1970s, it became increasingly evident that educational policies were failing both in urban and suburban Metropolitan Washington.

Today, one hears in the Black community the view that as public school social integration advanced, educational disintegration resulted. One hears increasingly that the educational policies of the 1960s were planned to fail, resulting in the progressive expansion of a Black underclass and the rise of popular illiteracy with unemployment and crime. At any rate, public schools are now under attack. Some educational "experts" are admitting that private schools deliver educational services where public schools are failing, just as Rev. Gray and the League warned before the fall of the system.

Black Higher Education: The Challenge and the Alternative*

In the area of higher education, historically Black colleges and universities also have been increasingly threatened. As integration proceeded, these institutions were first struck by a "brain drain" as many of their better prepared students and faculty were attracted by encouraging invitations to traditionally white institutions of higher learning. Additionally, the proportional allocation of federal funds to historically Black colleges and universities, under Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965, has progressively decreased from 61% in 1966 to about 18–21% in 1980 (Morris 1979; ISEP 1980). Moreover, reverse discrimination lawsuits against Black institutions and the threat of merger with white schools, not to mention actual extinction, present a major challenge to many historically Black colleges and universities in the developing age of science and technology. Yet, these institutions as people-oriented colleges and universities are registering concerns for quality education today that are more necessary than at any other time in history.

In a recent article, Stephen J. Wright (1981), discussed the challenges to Black higher education in the 1980s. He concluded that for historically Black institutions of higher learning to persist, they will be required to continue to: (1) attract students in adequate numbers; (2) meet regional accreditation standards; (3) be responsive to the need to develop curricula to meet the changing demands of the times; and (4) attract financial support. The following remarks are somewhat related to point 3 of Wright's concerns, as well as to what might be termed the philosophical orientation of historically Black institutions in the emerging techno-scientific age:

The times demand that historically Black institutions of higher learning give some serious thought to the whole matter of new thinking about thinking itself. As repositories of the cultural heritage of the Black experience (that is, African, Afro-American, Afro-Caribbean, etc.), historically Black colleges and universities cannot relinquish their responsibility to continue the struggle for the collective survival, social development, and educational salvation of the masses of Black people. Attendant to that struggle is the progressive expansion of vision on the parts of the administration and faculty of Black institutions seeking to prepare students who will offer an alternative to the present trend toward nuclear destruction and other threats to the survival of humankind. In the changing global order, it may be stated categorically that no people or institution, left or right, Black or white, have a monopoly on knowledge and at most have only a small working capital of wisdom.

In the developing age of science and technology, which is frought with the increasing complexity, interdependence and uncertainty with respect to all human activities and social relations, historically Black colleges and universities are challenged to become innovative in terms of curriculum development and orientation and committed to raising up a new people. Several critical areas demand consideration.

First, it is necessary for Afro-American education and historically Black institutions to overcome the fragmentation and compartmentalization of knowledge by in-

*This section is adapted from my essay, *Structures of Dominance and the Political Economy of Black Higher Education in a Technocratic Era: A Theoretical Framework*, (1981).

creasingly exploring the possibilities of multidisciplinary studies. This educational emphasis attempts to forge a more holistic perception of the human experience. This orientation accepts social reality as increasingly complex, interdependent and uncertain, thus, rejects theories and approaches (no matter how elegant) which attempt to oversimplify that reality (LaPorte 1975).

Research and instruction might include these combinations of conventional disciplines and approaches: education, political economy and management; history, drama and community organizing; engineering, urban economics and politics; biology, politics and philosophy; sociology, economics and political science; music, architecture and urban geography; medical science, sociology and economics. Traditional barriers to learning require elimination.

Secondly, and concomitantly, is the significance and necessity of international studies. Black colleges and universities have had a long historical involvement in educating international students. Indeed, numerous leaders, public officials and other citizens in many Third World nations are alumni of historically Black institutions of higher learning. Hence, it is only logical that these institutions give serious attention to establishing departments, institutes or centers of international studies. Moreover, such academic units can contribute enormously to producing Afro-Americans with expertise in the formulation of an enlightened foreign policy.

The Afro-American impact on United States foreign policy, while historically negligible, has the potential for expansion and for contributing to the development of a more balanced and realistic U.S. foreign policy toward all areas of the world, particularly Africa and the Caribbean. El Salvador, Cuba and Argentina might possibly be included since all have larger populations more native to America, Africa and Asia than to Europe.

Thirdly, the times demand that Afro-American education and historically Black colleges and universities engage in the serious and systematic examination of Western civilization and Judaeo-Christian culture. These institutions must attempt to understand the development of Western political, economic and social structures and processes. What historical forces gave rise to capitalism, racism, imperialism, colonialism and annihilating wars? The traditional approach to the study of the human development, as well as the frame of reference in most conventional disciplines, has been from the perspective of the Western European world outlook founded upon a Judaeo-Christian culture. Hence, Western education developed along with and was supportive of Western civilization and Judaeo-Christian culture in order to serve the interests of the West; consequently, Western education has been one-sided in approach, incomplete in content and culture bound in orientation. Nevertheless, Western education—and the concomitant Western world outlook—has been presented consistently as universal, value-neutral and objective. The Western experience, of course, is not universal; and neither knowledge nor its transmission is value-neutral and objective.

Knowledge and its circulation derive from specific cultural, political and economic processes and contexts among the vastly different peoples of the world community. In the last analysis, then, the knowledge and world view transmitted in contemporary American institutions of higher learning reflect and reinforce the historic domination of Western civilization and Judaeo-Christian culture. Therefore, Western theoretical assumptions and models are insufficient in the examination of Western culture in particular and the whole of humankind in general.

Afro-American educators and historically Black colleges and universities will be required to supersede the limiting Western world view seeking to comprehend the prime mover of the Western mind and behavior along with their consequences for the rest of humanity. This project will require a conscious attempt to develop alternatives to the narrow Western world view along with the rediscovery and acknowledgement of unpopular but noteworthy research and writing of past Black scholars and of some even today who have been alienated and discredited.

Since the victors historically have written or recorded history, and consequently are on the defensive globally, the victims excluded from these reports, could add several dimensions to the changing order. The victims could even guarantee survival in a threatened world through communicating and interpreting to former victors how others see the United States.

One recent effort is the work of Molefi K. Asante in his book, *Afro-centricity: The Theory of Social Change* (1980). Asante rejects the Eurocentric world view as narrow, simplistic, fragmented and compartmentalized. He relies heavily on early and contemporary African thought and argues that an Afrocentric view is open, flexible and non-absolutist. The Afrocentric perspective resists what Asante calls academic imperialism and balkanization, particularly in the social science. For Asante, Afrocentralism is holism, drawing as it does from ancient African beliefs in the basic unity of the universe which was demonstrated in daily activities recognizing the continuity of the sacred and secular, spiritual and material.

Another scholar, Dona Richards, has begun path-breaking work toward assessing aspects of Western civilization and Judaeo-Christian culture from an alternative perspective (1979). Her recent work deals with the "idea of progress" in Western thought and practice. Richards argues compellingly that it is this fundamental aspect of the Western philosophy of life that has historically and contemporaneously provided moral justification for the technical order and determined the Western orientation to the efforts of individuals within society.

Moreover, the "idea of progress" has contributed to the formation of Western European social organization by furnishing the ideological foundation upon which the oppressive technical order was built. Richards shows how powerful and widespread the effects of this "idea" has been on other cultures; also the extent it emerged and has been employed effectively as an ideology of white supremacy and a well constituted mythology of white superiority.

Fourthly, historically Black institutions and Afro-American education are required to emphasize research and instruction in science and technology, as well as the social functions of science and technology to develop scientists and technicians who are capable of making ethical decisions. These decisions should result in, not the destruction of humankind, but the preservation of human life in the new age. Science is certainly a powerful force in contemporary society. Yet, Afro-Americans cannot afford to be overwhelmed by the progressive development of scientific and technological knowledge, the controllers of which consider some people still outside salvation and threaten genocide or "population control" to make a secure supremacist, "crime free" society *a la* Darwin and Malthus.

In the emerging Managerial Estate, science and technology influence every aspect of society—cultural, political, economic and educational. Certainly, scientific and technological developments can have either positive or negative social effects. It is difficult to reject the timesaving aspects of the computer. On the other hand, when science becomes an ideology, there is cause for concern. For example, in the field of education, students are increasingly persuaded to embrace the "scientific method" and view the world solely in "objective" terms, eschewing the subjective as irrelevant. Radical empiricism reigns as some scholars, possessing very little theoretical substance, scurry wildly to collect data. They often act as if the "facts" speak for themselves.

Often students are taught to ignore those cultural, political and economic phenomena which cannot be readily quantified or objectified. The suggestion is that which cannot be objectified is metaphysical and therefore, unscientific. Yet, there are aspects of the scientific endeavor which are metaphysical: the assumptions or axioms upon which any science is based are not tested, they are merely accepted.

Science, then, is obviously both objective and subjective because it develops as a part of, and not apart from, human development and all other social activities of a particular epoch. Science is integrally embedded in cultural, political and economic growth and development (Nash 1963; Bernal 1971).

The increasing incorporation by the Managerial Estate of technoscientific developments increases the bureaucratization of government in terms of social relations and the policymaking process. Techno-science takes on the form of ideology—technocratic consciousness—in the Managerial Estate. Ethics as a category of life are suppressed, and government attempts to depoliticize human concerns and manage the people (Habermas 1970). Indeed, the educational curriculum itself reflects the technocratic imperative of the emerging Managerial Estate.

Students are encouraged increasingly to view complex social problems as solvable by technical means, that is by the manipulation of numerous "objective" variables. Education, in this regard, attempts to depoliticize complex and interdependent social problems, suggesting that conflict can be perceived as a matter of management. Education in the evolving Managerial Estate is grounded in scientism: scientific and technological knowledge as ideological coupled with indifference to the people.

In the final analysis, Afro-Americans cannot ignore these areas of knowledge in an era in which scientific and technological knowledge interact increasingly with social development. Historically Black colleges and universities can now seize the time by developing new ideas about the interrelationship between techno-scientific advancement and human development to give effective expression to the issue of human survival in an age threatened increasingly with nuclear annihilation.

Fifthly, historically Black colleges and universities and Afro-American education will be required to become increasingly future-oriented. Of course, one can possess more knowledge about the past than about the future; yet, one can dominate neither. If Black institutions and Afro-American education are to continue contributing to the historic struggle for Black self-determination, social development and secular and spiritual salvation, future studies are unavoidable in the evolving era of science and technology. A futuristic orientation can prepare Afro-Americans for cultural, political, economic and educational change and development. A futuristic orientation can insure that neither Black institutions nor Afro-American education becomes obsolete. Afro-Americans, therefore, are required to focus their vision primarily not on where they are today but on where they will be in the years ahead.

Sixthly, there is a critical necessity of the emergence of new leadership from within the Black community which will give effective expression to the hopes and aspirations of Afro-American common people, including the progressively expanding underclass. The times cry out for the impact of new Black leadership in the American domestic and foreign policymaking process.

Historically Black institutions of higher learning can make a contribution in this regard by establishing programs emphasizing policymaking and policy analysis, planning theory and practice, and organizational principles and activities. The necessity for Afro-Americans to see themselves as decisionmakers for the interests of all Americans—as a matter of course and not as something extraordinary—is compelling. America seems headed toward an increasingly militaristic foreign policy, as leaders discuss the use of nuclear weapons as if they were mere slingshots or bows and arrows. There is a serious need to interrupt and redirect this kind of thinking, and Black institutions can provide an alternative.

Lastly, Black institutions of higher learning and Afro-American common people who exist in communities near Black colleges have a singular cause, struggle and destiny in the collective survival and social development of Afro-Americans. The need continues for increased interaction between Black institutions and the Black community, which might take the form of university-community seminars, symposia, study groups and the like.

Conclusion

In the last analysis, the emerging Managerial Estate, based as it is on knowledge, services, science and technology with built-in theories of expendability for people considered obsolete, will increasingly force Afro-Americans and historically Black institutions of higher learning to seek priorities, policies and programs emphasizing self-reliance and self-determination. Moreover, urban public schools cannot be left as underdeveloped institutions for the rapidly growing Black underclass, which is becoming increasingly powerless and angry.

In the midst of the clash of cultures between the declining welfare state and the emerging Managerial Estate, Afro-American scholars, thinkers and policy analysts will be required to undertake the arduous task of contributing new, innovative and progressive ideas. They will be required to prepare an ideology as well as a new set of economic, cultural, political, social and moral principles which can point in a new direction along an alternative path toward world peace, social development, and secular and spiritual salvation.

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